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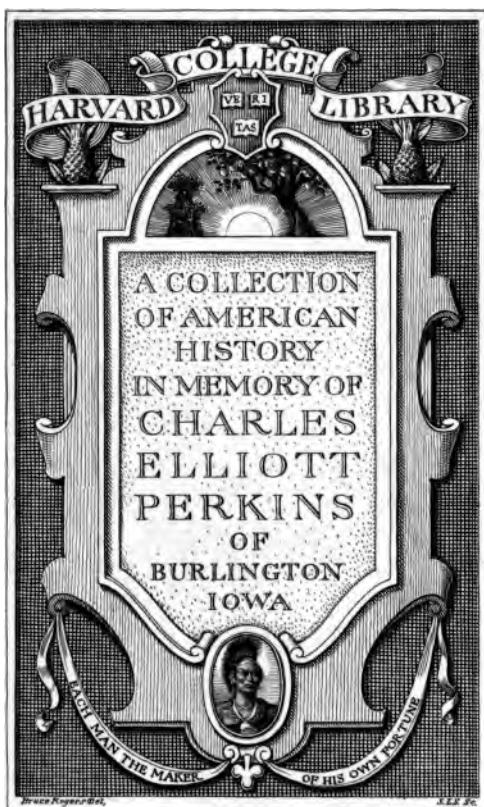
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**THE REAL ISSUE—UNION OR DISUNION.**

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**LETTER**

**OF**

**HON. S. S. MARSHALL,**

**ON THE**

**PARTIES AND POLITICS OF THE DAY,**

**TO**

**THE FREEMEN**

**OF THE**

**NINTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF ILLINOIS.**

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## THE REAL ISSUE—UNION OR DISUNION.

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FELLOW-CITIZENS: We are rapidly approaching the close of the most extraordinary session of Congress known to the history of our country, and the most important epoch in our country's destiny.

I know that you have not been indifferent spectators of the scenes transpiring around us. I know that with that love of the Union which is among the most cherished sentiments of your hearts, you have heard with deep solicitude those wild cries of disunion, anarchy, and civil war which have been sweeping over your beautiful prairies and carrying consternation to the remotest corners of the republic.

Fellow-citizens, as your representative, I occupy the position of a sentinel for you here, and it is your right to have a faithful report from me, in regard to everything pertaining to your interests; and as far as my humble abilities will enable me to give such report, you shall have it. I hope to see you all soon, but the condition of my health will not permit me to be among you as soon as I could desire, and I am therefore called upon, by an imperative sense of duty, to address you now in this manner. On almost any other occasion, I would say something in regard to my own course as your representative, but when the destiny of a great nation is at stake, the conduct, or even the fate, of so humble an individual as myself is a matter of very small moment. I will therefore for the present leave my official acts to be interpreted and explained by the official records of the House of which I am a member.

You know that I am not a bitter partisan, and would not intentionally deceive you or give the alarm of danger when I know there was none. Always a Democrat, I have often met the old Whig party in honorable combat, but never with denunciation of its virtuous members or patriotic purposes, and have always numbered in its ranks many of my most cherished friends. But the clarion voice of Clay is now hushed in the silence of death, and the lofty brow of Webster has bowed to the tyranny of the grave. The same earth which gave a final resting-place to Jefferson, and Madison, and Jackson, has also taken to her bosom all that was mortal of the gallant Clay, and the "God-like" Webster. The flag of the party which they loved no longer floats on the field of combat, new and fearful issues have been sprung upon us, and the public mind is agitated, and rocking to and fro like the surging billows of the ocean. Coming, as I do, from the most conservative portion of this great country, and representing a people not infected with the fanatical or sectional sentiments of the extremes, either north or south, with hearts large enough and patriotic enough to embrace every portion of our common country, I have been enabled to keep my mind free from sectional excitements, and v



calmly and dispassionately into the very face of these new parties, which, born in a night, have come forth full grown and armed at all points for the fearful battle in which we are just engaging.

#### THE CONSTITUTION AND UNION IN DANGER.

I have taken a calm view of the field of conflict, and I now say to you deliberately, that in my judgment the American people, in November next, will be called upon to decide the most important issue ever submitted to a free people; an issue pregnant with the most momentous consequences, and involving in its determination the destinies of our country, and to a great extent of the whole human race. This issue is nothing less than the preservation of the Union with its present countless blessings, and its glorious promises for the future, or disunion with civil war, rivers of fraternal blood, demoralization, crime, and ultimate utter ruin which must inevitably follow in its train. The depositing of your votes in the ballot box in November next, will therefore be the most important act of your whole lives.

The time was, fellow-citizens, when, in the country where you and I live, the word disunion was never heard; or if mentioned, it was in that solemn, subdued tone in which we would speak of some fearful spectre, or of some awful impending calamity, whose approach we could not anticipate, and whose depth we could not fathom. The sound grated harshly on our ears like the green clods falling on a mother's grave, or the death knell of our childhood's fondest hopes. As the Romans would not admit that any man could become so lost to all sense of honor and manhood as to shed the blood of the father that gave him being, and would not, therefore, by law provide any penalty for this impossible crime, so we believed that no man enjoying the blessings of our free government could ever turn traitor to his country; but unfortunately that day has passed. The time looked forward to by Washington with such deep solicitude is upon us.

We cannot evade, we cannot postpone the issue; we can no longer refuse to hear the word of evil import. It mingles in our conversations; fills our newspapers; is heard in our halls of legislation; and has invaded the holy sanctuary of the pulpit. It intermingles in our dreams, and interrupts our slumbers. It has become a living spectre; walks forth at noonday in all our streets and highways, and is worshipped as a God by thousands. We are compelled to look it in the face, and we must arouse ourselves like men, and *crush this monster*, if we would preserve this glorious heritage of freedom.

#### THERE HAS ALWAYS BEEN A PARTY AMONGST US HOSTILE TO THE GOVERNMENT.

It cannot be denied that there has always existed in this country a party of men bitterly hostile to our institutions, and who at any time would rejoice to see the sun of our liberties go down drenched in blood. *They have rarely avowed their real sentiments and purposes, but their foot-prints have always been known to the watchful patriot.*

In our struggle for independence, these men, as tories, engaged in open war against their own country, and were the most cruel and bloody persecutors of our patriot fathers. When independence was achieved, this class of men yielded a sullen and reluctant obedience; but have either openly or covertly ever since carried on their schemes to ruin our country, or, at least, to cripple its resources. And with this main object in view, they have, without scruple, seized on every prejudice, appealed to every passion, and resorted to every possible pretence and sophism to effect their purpose. They have with unceasing hostility opposed every measure tending to the expansion of our country, or the development of its resources. They threw obstacles in the way of the original Union; tried to confine this republic to the limits of the old thirteen States; have opposed every single acquisition of territory; and on one pretence or another have opposed every attempt to organize and open up new territories for the benefit and settlement of our hardy pioneers.

These modern "shrieks for freedom" and cries of no more slave territory are mere instruments to arouse and inflame the anti-slavery sentiment of the North, and thus carry out their long-cherished purpose by driving an excited and misguided people to their own destruction.

**THIS DISUNION PARTY ALWAYS HOSTILE TO THE INTEREST OF THE WEST.**

These leaders who manufacture this excitement and keep up this dangerous agitation have no sympathy with the slave, and would with the same avidity advocate slave extension if they could thereby effect their ultimate object. Early in the history of our country, Virginia, with that liberality and self-sacrificing devotion to the Union for which she has been distinguished, gave to the federal government that magnificent territory now constituting the great States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin—now the very garden spot of our country. At the commencement of the present century, thousands of hardy pioneers had braved the dangers of savage warfare, and already pitched their humble homes in this territory, and laid the foundations of those great and growing States. But although a young giant, the "Northwest" was a giant in fetters. Railroads were then unknown, and the mouth of the Mississippi was in the possession of a foreign power, so that the West had no outlet to the ocean for their produce in any direction. It became apparent to all intelligent men that Louisiana, including New Orleans and the mouth of the Mississippi, must be purchased, or the settlement and growth of the great West abandoned. But as soon as this was proposed, those same New England shops that now manufacture abolition and disunion sentiments and arguments for the whole country, then opposed this acquisition with relentless hostility. Not because it was slave territory, but distinctly on the ground that if the people of the West were allowed a free access to the Gulf of Mexico, the emigration thereby induced would depopulate their country, and the business thus opened up would cripple the commerce

of New England. The pioneers who are still living among you will remember with what deep solicitude they then looked to the federal government, and implored its assistance. Then, when the young West needed a friend, and was struggling for its very existence, those same philanthropists, who have now so much love for Kansas that they will not permit her people to frame their own institutions *for fear they may hurt themselves*, grasped us by the throat and would have strangled us in our swaddling clothes. But the gallant South came to our rescue, and, with Jefferson at their head, Louisiana was acquired, the fetters struck from western commerce, and a career of prosperity opened up to us unexampled in the history of the world.

THEIR TREASON DURING THE LAST BRITISH WAR—THE COMMENCEMENT AND PROGRESS OF ANTI-SLAVERY AGITATION.

Again, in our last war with Great Britain, these men sung songs of joy over the victories of the enemy—burned blue lights to direct him to our shores, and opened up a treasonable correspondence for a disruption of the confederacy.

In 1820, when Missouri came to the door of the Union with a plan of government, framed in strict compliance with the Federal Constitution, these promoters of discord first tried the game of anti-slavery agitation, and raised the cry of no more slave States. With joy they discovered that they had at last found an inexhaustible mine of agitation, and a spot where they might hope to make a breach into the Constitution. With fiendish triumph they looked upon the storm they had raised, which almost overwhelmed our gallant ship of State.

But the patriots of that day came forth in their might, and cast oil upon the troubled waters. The storm was assuaged, and the traitors were driven back to their kennels, overwhelmed with disgrace. They were defeated but not subdued. In due course of time Texas, having achieved her independence, came with a magnificent territory, sufficient to make a great empire in itself, and humbly asked permission to place her lone star amid the cluster that already illuminated our constellation. Any other nation on earth would have seized the proffered boon with avidity. Not so with us. Here was another opportunity for a new anti-slavery agitation, and it was thrown upon the country without hesitation. The genius of discord was invoked, and Texas came into the Union only after a fierce and bitter political struggle. Then the Mexican war supervened, and while our gallant soldiers, Whig and Democrat, from the North, South, East and West, were bravely carrying the flag of our country to victory and glory, these men denounced them as murderers; endeavored to prevent supplies to feed them; and urged the Mexicans to "welcome them with bloody hands to hospitable graves." When peace was again about to return, and our government demanded New Mexico, Utah, and California, as an indemnity for the expenses of the war, it was opposed with relentless hate by this class of men, who denounced these countries as utterly sterile and worthless, and attempted at all stages to embarrass our government with their

Wilmot Proviso. But peace returned to our people, and with it came these priceless acquisitions.

#### COMPROMISE MEASURES OF 1850.

But agitation did not cease with the termination of that war. It became necessary to organize these Territories and throw the shield of the Constitution around their enterprising pioneers. The ever fruitful hobby was again resorted to and the public mind was lashed into fury by unscrupulous demagogues. The storm that raged appalled every patriot in the land. Our gallant ship of State, rocked and reeled by the fury and violence of the storm, needed all the wisdom and experience of the most skilful pilots to bring her to a port of safety. Clay, the leader and idol of his party, had retired from public life to the shades of Ashland, to prepare for the final summons which the greatest must obey. Old age had crept upon the gallant Kentuckian, and the blood coursed languidly through his veins. But his heart knew no change, and still beat with all its youthful ardor for the country he so much loved. The nation called and he turned his back upon the quiet home of his affections, and dragged his aged limbs far away to the Federal capital, and spent the last energies of his life in once more restoring peace to a distracted country.

There was at the same time, far away on the shores of our northern lakes, another noble statesman, for many years the acknowledged leader of the other great party of the country. He too had nearly lived out the time allotted to man; and his limbs were stiffening with age. But the country demanded his services, and Cass, too, obeyed the summons. These great men had been political rivals for a third of a century, and each had given and received many a gallant blow. But their country was in danger, and they forgot party, forgot rivalry, ambition, everything but their country. Each knew the other to be a true patriot, and in the warm embrace of those noble old men the issues and animosities of the Whig and Democratic parties were buried forever.

Around these leaders gathered all the patriotic of the land. They held grave counsel for the safety of the republic. They felt that the day of temporary expedients had gone by. They had proved impotent for crushing the serpent that had crept into our Eden. It was necessary now to strike at the root of the cancer that was eating into our body politic. They felt that there must have been some error in the former measures of pacification, or the storm would not so soon and so often return upon us with renewed violence. They took up the Constitution, the charter of the Federal authority, to see what power they had to legislate upon this subject of slavery. They scrutinized it, word by word, and paragraph by paragraph, but they found not a single word which directly or indirectly even tended towards a grant of power to establish, abolish, or regulate slavery. They then read the history of the formation and adoption of the Constitution, and found that it was established for certain well known and well defined purposes, and that the regulation of slavery was not one of them. The States had all the power necessary, without any confederation, to ~~re-~~

late or abolish the institution, and therefore that was not one of the necessities out of which the Federal government sprung. They found that all the States came into the Union and adopted the constitution as equals in every respect whatever; and that the institutions of each, as far as the Federal government was concerned, were equally sacred and respectable. The conclusion was irresistible that any attempt on the part of the Federal government, established by all and for the benefit of all, to draw an odious distinction in favor of the institutions of one section, and against those of another section;—to say to one, Your institutions are holy, and to another, yours are unholy;—to say to one of these sovereign and coequal States, Our Territories, it is true, were purchased with the common blood and treasure of us all, but your institutions are wicked and damnable, and neither they nor your people shall go into the Territories; and at the same time say to another, Your institutions are pure and holy, enter thou in and enjoy this rich inheritance;—the conclusion, I say, was irresistible that all such legislation was a misuse of the Federal power—a gross and palpable usurpation of powers never intended to be granted, and which usurpation *ought to be resisted*.

#### PRINCIPLES ESTABLISHED BY THE "COMPROMISE" OF 1850.

The extremists of the South were clamorous in their opposition to the organization of these Territories, unless some provision was made for the existence of slavery therein. The northern fanatics were equally clamorous for a clause prohibiting slavery. Here was an irreconcilable collision between different sections of our common country.

But the patriots who had been called upon to adjust these difficulties, saw their course as clear as noonday. They said to the southern extremists, You are asking that which is unreasonable. We have looked into the constitution, and we find there no power to discriminate in favor of your institutions against those of the North. They said to northern fanatics, Your demands are equally unreasonable, and cannot be granted without a violation of the purpose for which the Union was established. We will provide Territorial governments for Utah and New Mexico; but, in doing so, we will adopt the principles of the constitution, and provide that the people of these Territories shall have the making of their own laws, and the establishment of their own domestic institutions. We will not—we have no power to—deprive them of the right of self-government. The constitution knows no North, no South, and we will not draw an insulting line of demarcation unknown to that sacred instrument. Let our citizens from every portion of this broad land, without any distinction whatever, go there and pitch their homes, and let them go to the ballot-box and determine the character of their institutions for themselves, just as the people of New York and Virginia, Massachusetts and South Carolina, settled these questions for themselves—peacefully, and without any intervention on the part of the federal government.

This principle appealed to the sense of right and justice of the great *body of the American people*. They saw, indeed, that it was our only

hope—the very ark of our safety. The Territories were thus organized; the public mind was satisfied; the storm abated, and the hounds of sectional agitation were again driven back howling to their kennels.

#### THE KANSAS AND NEBRASKA ACT.

They have now rallied for a final, and more bold and desperate struggle. The constitution and the Union are in imminent peril. Kansas and Nebraska lay directly on our road to our possessions on the Pacific. Our people were journeying through these Territories by thousands, and it became necessary to throw around them the protection of law. An act was passed for the organization of these Territories, in strict conformity to the constitution, and in exact compliance with the principles of the Utah and New Mexico bills, embraced in the Compromise measures of 1850; which were endorsed by both the Whig and Democratic parties in 1852, and had met the approval of the whole country.

Every attempt to open up a new Territory to the enterprise of our people has been the signal for renewed assaults upon the constitution by the disunion agitators. With an unscrupulous, bloated, mercenary press in their service, they have now succeeded but too well in lashing the popular mind into phrensy and madness. The constitution, history, truth, everything sacred, are utterly disregarded, and a set of insulting epithets have been invented to supply the place of truth and argument. "Slave Oligarchy," "Slave Aristocracy," "The Aggression of the Slave Power," "Slave Democracy," "Doughface," and similar phrases, are repeated, day by day, with endless changes and repetitions; until thousands, who will not stop to look at the facts, believe these epithets really represent some definite ideas, and that there is some terrible monster, or some dreadful conspiracy, which threatens to devour the people of the free States, or to overthrow their liberties. These epithets form the burden of every abolition speech, abolition editorial, and abolition sermon. Agitation, *ceaseless agitation*, is their trade; and, for this purpose, they resort to "assertions without proof, declamation without argument, and violent censure without dignity or moderation."

#### BIRTH OF THE KNOW-NOTHING PARTY.

The national men of the country saw the storm approaching, and prepared to meet it with courage and confidence. They had measured the strength of the enemy, and had no fears of the result; but, unfortunately, the leaders of the old Whig party were resting in their graves, and their followers, defeated and dispirited, were scattered throughout the country without organization or any definite object for the future. But national sentiments had been deeply ingrafted into them by their noble leaders, and the enemies of the constitution could not hope to enlist them in their cause, unless some means of deception or fraud could be resorted to. In this crisis a new agency was brought to bear, and a new element mingled in the strife, and to that are we

now indebted for the giant proportions and dangerous prominence of this new party.

In an evil hour to our country, a man of perverted talents and vicious morals—an outcast of prisons and of society—in the darkness of night, and shut out from the observations of men, gathered around him his discontented and equally vicious companions, and there planned a secret organization, bound together by dreadful, unchristian, and unconstitutional oaths, with a ritual appealing to the lowest prejudices of our nature. It is beyond all question the most dangerous instrument ever invented for the destruction of the liberties of a free people. It appealed to every passion and prejudice, adapted itself to every shade of opinion, and promised the realization of every hope. To the disappointed and disaffected Democrat, it promised revenge and promotion; to the Whigs, a powerful and irresistible reorganization of their old party; to those who still retained in their hearts the old aristocratic leaven, which claims superiority on account of family or birth-place, it promised a patent of nobility, protected by the sanctions of the law; to the bigoted and intolerant, a harvest of religious persecution; to those who really believed the foolish stories about the dangers to our country from that petty and powerless prince—the Pope of Rome—it promised protection and security; to the wind-galled, spavined, broken-down politician, it held out the hope of offices and emoluments.

The secrecy and mystery of its movements attracted crowds to its meshes, and thousands entered these dens, influenced by no higher motive than that which led our mother Eve to commit the act that brought sin and death into our world. To all it promised immunity from censure or observation, for all were bound not to tell the truth in regard to its membership, its organization, or its objects. All were told that they would be free to withdraw at any time; but, like the fly which ventures into the spider's web, once within its meshes, escape was almost impossible. It inaugurated a system of falsehood, deceit, and fraud, and struck down the first principles of manhood and of morals. Free-born, frank, manly citizens, decoyed into these dens, emerged from them with their souls in fetters, and a padlock upon their lips. They entered patriots and came forth they knew not what, and bound to obey the decrees of they knew not whom.

#### THE KNOW-NOTHING PARTY BECOMES AN ALLY OF ABOLITIONISM.

Whether the disunion Abolition leaders assisted in planning this organization or not is not known, but Satan himself could not have invented an instrument more suited to their purposes. They immediately seized upon it, and, with deceitful professions of their nationality and devotion to the constitution, they went forth on their mission of treason conquering and to conquer. The Democratic leaders saw the danger, and boldly denounced the movement. Deceived by professions, a large party in the South, forgetting that noble independence and free-spoken manhood for which they had been distinguished, entered the secret dens and united with this northern host in their war.

fare on the only party that presented a barrier to the inroads of sectionalism upon the constitution.

The growth of this oath-bound organization was beyond all precedent, and enough to appal the stoutest heart. With the machinery of grips, and signs, and passwords, and dark lanterns, its march was noiseless and imperceptible. It stole upon us like a thief in the night-time, and decoyed our young men into its haunts, and bound them to its behests. Once withdrawn from their old party ties, they soon lost their nationality, and were easily moulded to the purposes of their new leaders, and throughout the whole North, at least nine out of ten, who were entrapped into these lodges, and have adhered to them, after passing through the Know-nothing crucible, came out avowed Abolitionists or Black Republicans. All will remember the political struggle of 1854 throughout the northern States. One by one the national men of the North fell before the blows of this secret foe; and, ever and anon, as these true men were struck down, would come from the South a shout of triumph, and the light of their bon-fire rejoicings, at these victories of the "Great American party." But the present Congress convened, and the cloven foot could no longer be concealed. Out of over ninety Know-nothings elected to the present House of Representatives from the free States, all, (save some half a dozen,) including our "Union-sliding" Speaker, stood forth open, avowed Black Republicans, united in an unholy crusade against the institutions of fifteen States of this confederacy. And thus, by the aid of this secret machinery, and, strange as it may seem, with the co-operation and sympathy of southern men, have these disunion-Abolitionists been able to build up the present Black Republican party, which, with uncouth howlings, are endeavoring to pull down the pillars of this temple of liberty, and involve us all in one common ruin. Without Know-nothingism, Abolitionism was a dangerous element, but comparatively powerless for evil; with it, it has suddenly attained its present giant growth and defiant gait, which strikes terror to those most confident in the perpetuity of our institutions. Without Know-nothingism, this party presented to our eyes a dark cloud in the far north, which caused deep solicitude to every patriot. By the aid of this secret machinery, this cloud has grown, and swelled, and expanded, until it now covers the whole heavens, and behind it we see the fierce lightnings of disunion, and hear the hoarse rumblings of civil war. Without Know-nothingism, the danger was kept at a distance and within bounds; by its aid, this danger has been brought to our very doors, and threatens the sudden destruction of all that is dear to us.

I now propose to establish, by evidence "strong as proof of Holy Writ," first, that the object of the leaders of the Abolition "Republican" party is a dissolution of the Union; and, secondly, that such dissolution must inevitably result from the success of that party.

**A DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION IS THE OBJECT OF THE ABOLITION  
"REPUBLICAN" PARTY.**

On t'is point, it would be an easy matter to compile a volume of evidence, but what I here submit ought to satisfy every freeman in the



land. The ablest of the anti-slavery agitators belong to the "Anti-Slavery party," whose headquarters, for carrying on their operations, are England and Massachusetts. These men do not attempt to conceal their object; but, on the contrary, boldly proclaim it. A late number of the London Telegraph, one of their British organs, says:

"There are now over three millions of human beings held in cruel bondage in the United States. If, therefore, the United States government deny, and is resolved to question the right of Great Britain to her Central American possessions, we, the people of the British empire, are resolved to strike off the shackles from the feet of her three millions of slaves. And there are those among us who will sanctify such a glorious cause."

The London News, speaking of the probability of a war between Great Britain and the United States, says:

*"The Abolitionists would be with us to a man. The best of them are so now"*

In each number of one of the leading newspapers of this party, published at Boston, there appears at the head of its columns, in prominent characters, the motto—"No union with slaveholders. The United States constitution is a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell." And this, and several other papers published in that section, constantly, openly, and boldly advocate an immediate dissolution of the Union.

At the twenty-third annual meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, which convened at Boston on the 24th day of January last, it was

*"Resolved, That the one great issue before the country is the dissolution of the Union, in comparison with which, all other issues with the slave power are as dust in the balance; therefore, we will give ourselves to the work of annulling this covenant with death, as essential to our own innocence, and the speedy and everlasting overthrow of the slave system."*

On that occasion, Wendell Phillips commenced his speech, in favor of disunion, thus:

*"I entirely accord with the sentiment of that last resolution. I think all we have to do is to prepare the public mind by the daily and hourly presentation of the doctrine of disunion. Events which, fortunately for us, the government itself, and other parties, are producing with unexampled rapidity, are our best aid."*

And this speech, continued in this spirit, was applauded throughout by the audience there assembled.

On the 18th of December last, Mr. Giddings, in the House of Representatives, made a speech on the organization of the House, in which, after heaping upon the South the most insulting epithets, and thereby, as far as in him lay, weakening the bonds of the Union, in alluding to a remark that the aggressions of the Black Republicans, if continued, would lead to a destruction of the government, he turned to the southern members, and, in a tone of bravado, remarked: "You shall not dissolve the Union." "With unwavering determination we say to those traitors, you shall not dissolve it." The Boston Liberator, of the 11th of January last, thus gently reproves the insincerity of his friend:

*"Mr. Giddings says truly, that the dissolution of the Union has long been held up as a scare-crow by the South; but when he adds that the friends of liberty have never demanded it, his statement is untrue, unless he means to confine it to his political associates, who are but compromisers at best. We demand nothing short of a dissolution, absolute and immediate. The Union which was founded by our fathers, was cemented with the blood of the slave, and effected through his immolation."*

On our last national anniversary—the 4th of July of the present year—when the whole American people should have sent up one united

heart to the throne of God, in gratitude for the countless blessings showered upon us, a mass meeting was held at Framingham, in Massachusetts, at which several disunion speeches were made, and received with applause. My space will not permit me to give extracts from but two. Wm. Lloyd Garrison said:

"Let us, then, to-day, rejecting as wild and chimerical all suggestions, propositions, and contrivances for restraining slavery in its present limits, while extending constitutional protection to it in fifteen of the thirty-one States, register our pledge anew before Heaven and the world, that *we will do what in us lies to effect the eternal overthrow of this blood-stained Union*, that thus our enslaved countrymen may find a sure deliverance, and we may no longer be answerable for their blood."

J. B. Swassey, esq., who addressed the meeting at the same time, said:

"In the old times, I was what was called an Anti-slavery Whig. But, Mr. President, it has come to my mind like a conviction, that it is utterly in vain to hope that we can live under such a government as this with our professions, and with our pretended love of freedom and right. Why, the thing is impossible. There cannot, in the nature of things, be any union between the principles of liberty and slavery. There never has been any union, except by the subjugation of the principles of liberty to those of despotism. For one, sir, *I believe that the duty of every true man is now to take the ground of secession.*"

I have before me a copy of a petition now being circulated throughout the New England States, asking for an immediate dissolution of the Union. The very last number of the Boston Liberator, speaking of these petitions, says: "*As the time for the adjournment of Congress is rapidly approaching, there should be no delay in forwarding to that body the petitions for the dissolution of the Union*, whether the signatures to them be many or few. But who that has a drop of free blood running in his veins, or carries a virtuous heart in his bosom, or worships at the shrine of liberty, will hesitate to affix his signature."

A writer in the National Anti-Slavery Standard, writing from Newburg, on the Hudson, under date of May 28, says: "But I waste words. In this fearful crisis one hope is left us—the hope that the people of the North will see the jeopardy in which they stand, and will look disunion calmly in the face. Let those of us who feel this wrong throw away these miserable party divisions, and, lifting up our eyes to that Heaven where Liberty, the daughter of God, stands forever by her Father's throne, **STRIKE** in her name, and but one blow."

I know it will be said that these are the sentiments of the ultra Abolitionists, and that those virtuous gentlemen, Seward, Greeley, Giddings, Fremont, and company, do not intend to go quite that far. I implore you, fellow-citizens, if you love your country, to hug no such delusive hope to your bosoms. Those whose sentiments I have quoted see the inevitable tendency of this anti-slavery agitation, and frankly avow their objects. But these last-named are endeavoring to conceal their real purposes, and, by exciting and misleading the masses, make them instruments for their own destruction. The Garrison school and the Seward school are identical in their objects, instruments, and results. They trim their sails to the same winds, and will arrive at precisely the same port. They sing the same song of "slave aggression," "slave oligarchy," "slave democracy," and "bleeding Kansas," and they sing it to precisely the same tune. Those who cannot see their identity are unworthy of the freedom they enjoy. And they are not always success-

ful in withholding some expression of their objects. Indeed, we have abundance of positive testimony on this point. And when we do get a glimpse of their purposes, they are so malignant and bloody that we shrink back from their contemplation with horror. It is manifest that their plan is by constant abuse and insult—by reviling their people and institutions—by never-ending opprobrium and aggressive agitation—by taking possession of the federal government and administering it for their oppression to force the South to withdraw; or if she (still hoping for a better state of public opinion) continues true to the Union, then they intend to take up the sword themselves and dissolve it in blood.

Horace Greeley, the pilot of the disunion craft on which Seward is captain, and Fremont, Bissell, Wentworth, Lovejoy, Giddings, and company have taken passage, just before the passage of the Kansas act, gave his command for agitation in these words :

"We urge, therefore, unbending determination on the part of the Northern members hostile to this intolerable outrage, and demand of them, in behalf of peace, in behalf of freedom, in behalf of justice and humanity, *resistance to the last*. Better that confusion should ensue—better that discord should reign in the national councils—better that Congress should break up in wild disorder—nay, *better that the Capitol itself should blaze by the torch of the incendiary, or fall and bury all its inmates beneath its crumbling ruins*, than that this perfidy and wrong should be finally accomplished."

Seward, who is the very life and soul of this party, as far back as 1848, in a speech made at Cleveland, *six years before the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska act*, gave the world a very clear intimation of the plan of operations which they are now carrying out. He says :

"Correct your own error, that slavery has any constitutional guarantee which may not be released, and ought not to be relinquished. Say to slavery, when it shows its bond (that is, the constitution) and demands its pound of flesh, that if it draws one drop of blood its life shall pay the forfeit." \* \* \* "Do all this, and inculcate all this in the spirit of moderation and benevolence, and not of retaliation and fanaticism, and *you will soon bring the parties of the country into an effective aggression upon slavery.*"

Senator Wilson, of Massachusetts, another active leader, in a lecture delivered at Tremont Temple, Boston, last spring, says :

"Send it abroad on the wings of the wind that I am committed, fully committed, committed to the fullest extent in favor of *immediate and unconditional abolition of slavery wherever it exists under the authority of the constitution of the United States.*"

And again, in a letter dated June 20, 1855, to Wendell Phillips, an extract from one of whose disunion speeches I have given above, Wilson says :

"I hope, my dear sir, that we shall all strive to unite and combine all the friends of freedom, that we shall forget each other's *faults and short-comings* in the past, and all labor to secure that co-operation by which alone the *slave is to be emancipated*, and the dominion of his master broken. Let us remember that more than three millions of bondmen, groaning under nameless woes, demand that we shall cease to reproach each other, and that we labor for their *deliverance.*"

I will now, without comment, give a few additional extracts from speeches and writings of the leaders of the Fremont party out of a large pile lying before me, and which is, day by day, accumulating on my hands:

"The Union is not worth supporting in connexion with the South."—Horace Greeley.

"I look forward to the day when there shall be a servile insurrection in the South; when the *black man, armed with British bayonets*, and led on by *British officers*, shall assert his freedom, and wage a war of extermination against his master; when the *torch of the incendiary shall light up the towns and cities of the South*, and blot out the last vestige of slavery; and

though I may not laugh at their calamity, nor mock when their fear cometh, yet *I shall hail it as the dawn of a political millenium.*"—Giddings.

"I am willing, in a certain state of circumstances, to let the Union slide."—N. P. Banks, *Speaker of the House of Representatives.*

In the case of the alternative being presented of the continuance of slavery or a dissolution of the Union, I am for dissolution, and *I care not how soon it comes.*"—Rufus P. Spaulding.

I detest slavery, and say, unhesitatingly, that I am for its abolition by some means, *if it should send all the party organizations in the Union, or the Union itself, to the devil.*"—H. M. Addison, *of the American Advertiser.*

"Better disunion, better a civil or a servile war, better anything that God in his providence shall send, than an extension of the bonds of slavery."—Horace Mann.

"If peaceful means fail us, and we are driven to the last extremity, where ballots are useless then we'll make bullets effective."—Hon. Erastus Hopkins, *of Massachusetts.*

"On the action of this convention depends the fate of the country; if the 'Republicans' fail at the ballot-box, we will be forced to drive back the slaveocracy **WITH FIRE AND THE SWORD.**"—General Webb in a speech in the convention that nominated Fremont, and which was received with "tremendous applause."

"The remedy is to go to the polls, and through the ballot-box repudiate the infamous platform put forth at Cincinnati, and over which the black flag of slavery waves with characteristic impudence; and failing in this, do as our fathers did before us—stand by our inalienable rights and drive back with arms, those who dare to trample upon our inheritance."—General Webb, *from an editorial in his paper.*

"I sincerely hope a civil war may burst upon the country. I want to see American slavery abolished in my day. It is a legacy I have no wish to leave my children. Then my most fervent prayer is that England, France and Spain may speedily take this slavery-cursed nation into their special consideration, and when the time arrives for the streets of the cities of this 'land of the free and home of the brave' to run with blood to the horses' bridles, in the writer of this be living, there will be one heart to rejoice at the retributive justice of Heaven."—W. O. Duwall, "one of the leading Republicans of New York."

"It is the duty of the North, in case they fail in electing a President and Congress that will restore freedom in Kansas, to revolutionize the government."—Resolution of a Black Republican meeting in Wisconsin.

"By all her regard for the generations of the future, by her reverence for God and man, the North is bound to dissolve her present union with kidnappers and murderers, and form a Northern Republic on the basis of 'No union with slaveholders.'"—Henry C. Wright, *writing from Waukegan, Illinois, under date of June 9th, 1856, to one of the Northern papers.*

"Resolved, That the slavery advocates may prate to their hearts' content about the glorious Union, the mighty advantages resulting therefrom, the dangers to which it is exposed, arising from the agitation of the slavery question, and the incalculable evils consequent upon its dissolution. We, as friends of human freedom, know no political union, and acknowledge none but that based on the equality and brotherhood of man. Every other union is a shadow without substance. We, moreover, in all sincerity declare, that, if the Union of these United States is built upon slavery, it is not worth preserving. YEA, LET IT BE DASHED INTO A THOUSAND FRAGMENTS, rather than serve as a perpetuation of wholesale robbery."—Resolution passed at a Black Republican meeting at Farlow's Grove, Mercer county, Illinois.

Fellow-citizens, I will quote no farther on this point. It is at best a soul-sickening duty that I am now performing. If you are not now convinced that disunion and civil war are the objects of the leaders of this Black Republican party, "*you would not believe though one should rise from the dead.*"

#### BLACK REPUBLICANISM *versus* THE BIBLE.

It is not enough that the constitution should be trampled under foot, and this glorious Union broken up and destroyed. Everything sacred and holy must be prostrated before the march of this mad fanaticism. Some of this "truly patriotic body of men" have recently taken to reading the Bible, and find, with horror and consternation, that it has not come out as explicitly on the side of "Free Kansas" as they think it should have done. They find that, although the Almighty had the

whole world to choose from, he selected Abraham, a slave-holder, as the father of his chosen people, and, in a peculiar manner, favored Job, another of the ancient "slaveocracy," and declared him to be a just man, "one that feared God and eschewed evil." They find that when the Saviour of man was on earth, although slavery existed all around him, and although he denounced very freely the prevailing sins of the world, he never even so much as intimated that slavery was of itself a sin or a crime. They find that Paul returned a fugitive slave, (Onesimus) to Philemon, his master, and was very explicit in his injunction to servants to be obedient to their masters. They find that the Bible is down on underground railroads, and denounces death as the penalty for man stealing; but that neither the Almighty in his laws delivered to Moses, nor the Saviour, nor his apostles, ever denounced slavery as established by law as in itself a sin. All Black Republicanism is in a perfect ferment at this awful discovery. It is worse than the last bulletin from "bleeding Kansas." A convocation of the wise ones is had, and it is unanimously voted that the Almighty was an ally of the "border ruffians"—Christ a "doughface"—Paul a base tool of the "slaveocracy," and the Bible itself a campaign document got up to secure the election of Buchanan and Breckinridge, and to perpetuate this "infamous administration." This is not to be tolerated, and a distinguished member of Congress from Massachusetts proclaims to the world their decree in these words: "*The times demand, and we must have, an anti-slavery Constitution, an anti-slavery Bible, and an anti-slavery God.*"

They have already found their anti-slavery God in the person of one Colonel Fremont, who, without one particle of political experience or qualifications for the position, is put forward for the highest office in the gift of the American people. Their "anti-slavery constitution" they will make as soon as they get the present one torn to fragments. But the getting up of a new Bible is a more difficult matter, and they found it necessary to call a convention for that especial purpose. I copy from a call published in the Boston Liberator, of March 21, 1856:

"WORLD'S BIBLE CONVENTION.

"We, the undersigned, desirous of promoting the improvement of our race, and believing that the doctrine of the divine authority of the Bible is one of the greatest hindrances to its improvement; and believing further that this doctrine has no foundation in truth, and that a fair and thorough investigation would lead to its speedy and general abandonment, invite all, in whatever part of the world they may dwell, who feel an interest in the matter, to meet us in New York in May next, and to adopt such measures as may be calculated to spread through the world what may appear to be the truth on this important subject."

These proceedings need no comment. If any one is so far gone in fanaticism as not to be shocked at them, his case is indeed hopeless.

DISUNION WOULD BE THE INEVITABLE RESULT OF THE SUCCESS OF THE  
BLACK REPUBLICAN PARTY.

I should not, fellow-citizens, be dealing with you with that candor which you have a right to expect, if I were to assert that the great mass of the people whose minds have been lashed into this storm of fury and

fanaticism were at heart the enemies of their country, or desire its destruction. Indeed, I know that such is not the case. But the danger to the republic is, therefore, none the less. No free government has ever yet been destroyed by foreign enemies, as long as the people understood their true interests. It is only where demagogues have been able to take advantage of the honest impulses of the masses, and deceive and mislead them, that republics have ever fallen before the assaults of their enemies. In this way have the fondest hopes of mankind, time and again, been blasted; and it is in this way that the fairest fabric of human government ever vouchsafed to man, is now in danger of being destroyed.

What is the American Union? Of what does it consist? And on what is it based? It is not the parchment on which the constitution is written. It is not made up of any particular formula of words, and it cannot be preserved by the power of the sword. *The very life of the Union is in the hearts of the American people.* It is made up of mutual forbearance and mutual concession—of honest, heartfelt love and affection for a common country, and every portion thereof. And this affection cannot be maintained without equal and exact justice to the whole country, and to every citizen. We must learn to attend to our own business, and refrain from crimination and this ceaseless, insulting, maddening opprobrium heaped upon the institutions, customs, habits, and prejudices of our neighbors—our brothers and equal heirs to the blessings of our matchless government. Professions of devotion to the Union amount to nothing when we show by our conduct that we are cultivating feelings and principles which must lead to its destruction. The "Republican" convention, by a kind of solemn mockery, proclaim their devotion to the Union, whilst one of the most able leaders of that party, judging of others by his own feelings, declares, that "there is really no union now between the North and the South, and he believed no two nations upon the earth entertained feelings of more bitter rancor towards each other than *these two nations* of the republic."

Mr. Giddings, in the House, reviles the institutions of fifteen States of this Union, tramples upon their habits, customs, and prejudices, and insults their people, and then turns to their representatives, and exclaims, "You shall not dissolve this Union," and threatens them with a halter, if they attempt to withdraw. Senator Wilson, in the United States Senate, denounces the South, but, at the same time, asserts that there is no danger of secession; that the South "could not be kicked out of the Union." The same senator, in a speech he made in the convention which nominated Fremont, proclaimed, as the motto of the party—"Freemen of the North have a right to govern this country."

Twelve of the thirteen original States of the Union were slave States, or recognised the existence of slavery among them. While the free States were in the minority, all was peace, concord, and harmony, as far as this question was concerned. There was no complaint then of aggression on the one part or the other. The South never attempted, in any way, to intrude her institutions upon the people of the North; but, on the contrary, her statesmen had commenced, in good faith, considering as to the best mode of loosening the fetters of the slave, and of

finally effecting his emancipation. But no sooner had we obtained the majority, than this senseless and unholy agitation was commenced, which has fastened the bonds of the slave, and conducted our country now to the very brink of ruin. We have now a majority in both branches of Congress, and have a population of seventeen millions of citizens, while they have but six. With our prosperity and numbers, we have become arrogant, overbearing, and insulting. And now the monstrous doctrine is promulgated, that fifteen States of the Union are to be wholly disregarded, and that the "freemen of the North have a right to govern this country." Govern it how? By cultivating sentiments of affection for every portion of our country? By equal and just laws, and the recognition of the perfect equality of all the States of the Union? Not at all. On the contrary, they propose to govern it by usurpation, and the power of numbers, and the sword. They propose, under the plausible cry of, no more slave States, to shut out our brethren of the South from those magnificent Territories acquired by their blood and treasure as well as ours, unless they will abandon property which has descended to them, and institutions under which their fathers and themselves have lived and prospered. They propose, in fact, to seize upon the federal government, and reduce the South to subjection. They propose to maintain this Union just as the union between England and Ireland is maintained—just as Great Britain attempted to maintain the union between the mother country and her American colonies.

Fellow-citizens, I implore you to pause and ask yourselves whether our government can be preserved in any such way. The great body of the South love the Union, and would deplore a severance of it as a great public calamity. But will they submit to repeated wrong and injustice? Will they submit to the drawing an odious distinction between themselves and us? Will they submit to degradation? *This is an awful experiment for us to try.*

Our forefathers loved the mother-country from which they sprung. It required a series of aggressions to alienate their affections. But they claimed to be freemen, and, in political rights, to be the equals of their brethren on the other side of the Atlantic. They appealed to their brethren, and "warned them of attempts made by the legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over them." They "appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and conjured them by the ties of common kindred to disavow these usurpations." But they were "deaf to the voice of justice and consanguinity." Our fathers saw the awful perils before them. They were but a handful, scattered over a large country without money, an army, navy, or munitions of war. They were contending with the most powerful nation on earth, but they did not hesitate. They knew that they and their families and homes might be swept from the face of the earth, but they preferred even that to degradation. The consequence of these usurpations was a long and bloody war, and the dismemberment of the British empire.

But it may be said that our aggressions upon our southern brethren are not equal to those of the British government upon us. But look *at the facts.* For what was it that our forefathers appealed to the God *of battles for justice?* The immediate burdens were in themselves

slight and trivial—an insignificant tax on tea and paper. It was the principles involved—the attempt to *discriminate* and *draw an odious distinction* between them and their brethren on the other side of the Atlantic which they would not, and, as freemen, could not submit to. Are our brethren at the South weaker, or have they less at stake than our forefathers had? Hundreds of millions of dollars are inseparably interwoven with this slave institution. The blood and treasure of the South contributed equally with ours to the acquisition of our vast territories; but we tell them that, unless they will abandon their property and the institutions under which they were raised, they shall not go into these territories, and that we will possess and enjoy every foot thereof. And this cry of “no more slave States” is not only for the present, but is to extend to all future acquisitions. In short, we are to ask of the South to help us fight our battles and contribute to the support of the federal government, but that government is to be administered exclusively for the benefit of the North and to foster her institutions. I ask you again, fellow-citizens, will the South submit to this? Ought she to submit to it? Can she submit to it without degradation?

Let us not be deceived by the cry that the South is weak, and will not, therefore, risk a separation? Our fathers were less than three millions, and were apparently without resources. In the South are six millions of as gallant, high-spirited freemen as ever trod the green sod of our mother earth, with all the elements of a great nation. The North, it is true, if united in a war of aggression, is greatly her superior in numbers and wealth. But if we are so lost to all sense of honor as to attempt it, we never could reduce the South to subjection to a government where she could not obtain justice. We might possibly stir up a servile war, desolate her now happy homes, and cause her cities to run rivers of blood. It might be possible for us to sweep her whole population from the earth; but as long as one man was found alive, his arm would be raised to strike the invader, and an enlightened world would applaud the act.

But if we could do so with perfect safety, will we ask our brethren to submit to any such degradation? On every battle-field of our country the men of the North and the men of the South have marched side by side as brothers to victory and glory. “They have poured their blood into one common stream, and, locked in each other’s arms, they filled one common grave.” And shall we now say to them we are holier than they? Shall we stand up in the market-places and thank God that we are not as these publicans and sinners? Are we purer than Washington and Jefferson, Madison and Jackson, Calhoun and Clay, all of whom were slaveholders, and lived in slave States? and will we refuse to live under a government which recognises them and their children as our equals? Do we wish them to occupy towards us a position similar to that occupied by Ireland towards England? I know your hearts too well to have any doubts as to the answer.



## THE AGGRESSIONS OF THE SLAVE POWER.

We of the North have our ears constantly stunned with the cry of "slaveocracy," "slave-oligarchy," "the aggressions of the slave power," and like phrases. These will do very well "to tickle the ears of the groundlings," and to frighten old women and children; but men, who have the destinies of a great nation in their keeping, ought to inquire what is the foundation for the constant use of these insulting and opprobrious epithets.

History will teach you that our connection with the South, instead of an injury, has been the source of innumerable blessings to us. When our struggle for independence commenced, and we needed a man to lead our armies, Virginia, a "slave power," gave up her own great son, one of the now much abused "slaveocracy," who, through a long and perilous war, led our countrymen to victory and immortality. When it became necessary to throw off our allegiance to the mother country, the same "slave power" gave us Jefferson, another one of the "slaveocracy," to draught the immortal Declaration of Independence. When it became necessary to form "a more perfect government," the same "slave power" gave us Madison, another one of the "slaveocracy," to draught our matchless Constitution. When our country was again invaded by a foreign foe, and our arms were disgraced in the North, and our capitol burned, Tennessee, another "slave power," gave us her own Jackson, one of the "slaveocracy," who closed the war in a blaze of glory, and wiped out our disgrace in the foeman's blood. In 1820, when these sectional traitors had raised a storm that threatened to engulf us, Kentucky, another "slave power," gave us the immortal Clay, one of the "slave-oligarchy," who cast oil on the troubled waters, and drove the hounds of discord back to their kennels. These are some of the awful aggressions of the "slave power."

"Oh, but their aggressions have been Territorial." Let us look at that a moment. And, to understand this matter properly, I ask you to take up the map of our country. You will see that those of the old thirteen States, which are now "free," make but a small speck on that map. When our independence was achieved, not one foot of that almost boundless region lying far away towards the setting sun belonged to those "free States," or to either of them, and they had no right or power to fix the destinies of any portion thereof. But that vast country, now constituting the great States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin, which now, in their infancy, have a larger white population than the whole fifteen slave States together, belonged to Virginia, and was, every foot of it, slave territory. The Federal government was poor, borne down with debt, and crippled in its resources. Virginia came forward, with a generosity that has no parallel in the history of the world, and laid this magnificent territory, as a free offering, at the foot of the national treasury. The slave States were greatly in the preponderance, and, not anticipating this unholy crusade against her institutions, she dedi-

cated this territory forever to freedom. This is the first great Territorial "aggression of the slave power." And we of the Northwest are indebted to a slave State, and not to Massachusetts abolitionism, for our happy homes and free institutions.

Again, in 1803, as I have before stated, Louisiana Territory was acquired from France. This acquisition embraced that vast country between the Mississippi and the Rocky Mountains, and extended from the Gulf of Mexico, on the south, far away to the British possessions, on the north. And every foot of this was slave territory, in which slavery had already been established by law, and in which there were already over forty thousand slaves. We bound ourselves, too, in our treaty of purchase, to protect the people of the Territory in their religion and rights of property, and to admit them into the Union upon an equality with the original States. But when, in due course of time, Missouri (carved out of this territory) came to the door of the Union, with a constitution in compliance with the terms of the treaty, and the Federal Constitution, she was indignantly spurned, and the North would not receive her unless the people who were there would leave with their slave property and agree never to return, and leave that State as a home for the universal Yankee nation of the North. This naturally aroused the indignation of the South, and raised the storm to which I have before referred.

Missouri had an undoubted right, by virtue of said treaty and the principles of the Constitution, to come into the Union without any restrictions whatever. But, for the sake of harmony, the South agreed to have a black line drawn between the North and the South on the parallel of  $36^{\circ} 30'$ , and that, in emigrating westward, they would never go north of that line with their property.

And how much of this slave territory, in which slavery then existed by law, do you think was thus surrendered by the South to the demands of northern fanaticism? Look at the map again, and you will see that it embraces 750,000 square miles of territory—enough to make thirteen States, each one of which would be larger than Illinois. This is another of the "aggressions of the slave power."

When Oregon and Washington Territories were opened up to settlement, and California, Utah, and New Mexico were acquired, the South came forward and asked that the compromise line of  $36^{\circ} 30'$  should be extended to the Pacific. This was time and again refused. And the South then asked, not to reinstate the old laws establishing slavery, but to go back to the principles of the constitution, take up the geographical line which was unknown to that instrument, and to place the people of every portion of the country upon a perfect equality in the settlement of the Territories. This, and this alone, is what was done by the Kansas-Nebraska bill, which has raised such a howl throughout the country.

When the constitution was formed, the States were twelve slave and one free. Now they are sixteen free to fifteen slave; and the free States now have a majority in both branches of Congress. And notwithstanding the vast slave territories which, as I have shown, have been surrendered by the South to freedom, not one foot of free soil has

ever, on any occasion, been given up to slavery; and, from the adoption of the federal constitution to the present time, there has not even been a bill offered in Congress asking for the extension of slavery, by act of Congress, into free territory. This is a true history of this terrible "aggression of the slave power," to resist which you and I are asked to engage in this unholy crusade.

If we are really tired of the Union, and are determined to dissolve this great partnership, let us, in common honesty, give back what we have gained thereby—let us of the Northwest give back to old Virginia that great country in which we have built our homes, and where we expect our bones to rest—let us give back that vast territory stretching from the Missouri compromise line to the British possessions on the north—let us no longer claim a part in the glory shed upon our common country by the great names and noble achievements of Henry, Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Jackson, Clay, Calhoun, Marion, or Sumpter, or claim a right to visit their consecrated graves as countrymen of ours—let us, as far as possible, place ourselves in the position in which we would now be if this confederacy had never been formed, and we would soon see who has gained most by this "blood-stained Union."

#### "SLAVE INSTITUTIONS."

I am, of course, no slave propagandist. I love the free homes, free men, and free institutions of my own native State. God knows, I would like to see the whole human race so elevated in intellect and morals as to be capable of establishing and maintaining freedom and free government; but, in the present condition of the world, this is impossible. The white man is infinitely above the black, intellectually and morally; and yet the Anglo-Saxon is the only portion of the white race that has proved himself capable of establishing and maintaining freedom. Others have often boldly struck for and secured a momentary liberty, but they have been compelled almost immediately to resort to despotism to escape the horrors of anarchy. The African is by far the lowest type of the human race. In a state of independence, in his own home, he has always been a heathen and a barbarian. In the long line of ages from the creation to the present time, he has not advanced one step towards rational government, civilization, or Christianity; it is only in a state of servitude that he has been christianized and humanized. I, of course, speak of the prominent fact, and not of particular exceptions. Notwithstanding the noble sacrifices and great expenditures of money in the missionary cause, there is not one Bible to-day within the interior of Africa, while four hundred thousand of her children in America have been brought to the knowledge and embraced the glorious hopes of Christianity. The African race has been benefited, and not injured, by the institution of slavery.

I will not undertake to inquire why this is so. I cannot tell why one man is created inferior in intellect to another, or why sin, and misery, and death were permitted to enter this beautiful world of ours. "*The ways of the Almighty are inscrutable, and past finding out.*" He per-

mitted his own chosen people to remain four hundred years in bondage; and he has stamped inferiority, in plain and indelible characters, upon the child of Africa. It is the decree of Heaven, and is irrepealable by man. Why should we engage in an unholy crusade after that which it is impossible to attain? Why should we madly leap in the very face of Heaven? Shall we dash to the ground the cup of happiness presented to us, because God has not created us all as perfect as the angels around his throne? If we could to-morrow strike the bonds from every slave in the South, we would inflict, even upon them, an irreparable injury, and the consequences would be dreadful to our own race. 'The accustomed restraints being suddenly removed, the negro would immediately degenerate into crime and barbarism. He would fill our prisons and our poor-houses; he would be a curse to us and himself. If slavery is, indeed, a sin, the freemen of Illinois are in no way whatever responsible for it. Why should we, then, sacrifice the liberty and happiness of our own race, and the best government on earth, to secure the freedom of a people who could not maintain it? Why try to anticipate Heaven? When the African is fit for freedom, and deserves it, God will raise up a Moses to conduct them to their land of Canaan. He will come, in his own good time, with "a cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night," to lead them from bondage. I, at all events, am willing to leave the solution of this great problem in the hands of the Almighty, and would much rather trust Him for its settlement than all the disunion-Abolitionists in the land.

#### DISUNION—WHAT IS IT?

The time was when patriots with great propriety refused to calculate the value of the Union. Now a consideration of it is forced upon us. Under its benign influences, our growth and prosperity have been extraordinary and unparalleled. "Every year of its duration has teemed with fresh proof of its utility, and its blessings;" and with it our prospects in the future are all that the heart of man can desire. But no patriot, who has read the history of the past, can look the prospect of disunion in the face without a shudder of soul-sickening horror. Those who believe that these States can separate peacefully and without blood-shed and civil war, have given very little consideration to the history of our race. If we separate, it will be because feelings of hatred have been engendered which are inconsistent with a state of peace. If we cannot keep the peace under the high and holy sanctions of the bonds made for us by our revolutionary fathers, what hope is there for us when those bonds are broken up and destroyed? And what will be the result of that war into which we must be precipitated? The history of the past teaches us many important lessons on this point; but I will here refer to but one.

The people of the German States, two and a half centuries ago, were living in peace and prosperity under a confederated government similar to, but not so perfect as ours. They had no slave institutions upon which demagogues could base their agitation to destroy the harmony that existed; but bigotry supplied its place. Instead of

keeping religion and politics separate and distinct, and leaving every man to worship his God according to the dictates of his own conscience, they drew the sword, and engaged in one of the longest and bloodiest wars of which we have any record, to determine whether the Catholic or the Protestant religion should be in the ascendant. Father against son, and son against father; brother in deadly conflict with brother, on an issue which God alone can or ought to determine, this unhappy people engaged in wholesale butchery for the period of thirty long years. They fought until the waters of their mighty rivers were crimsoned with their blood. They fought until one whole generation was swept from the face of the earth; and still their children were found marching to the fields of carnage. In their madness and insanity they even fought on after they had forgotten the original cause of war; and Catholic and Protestant were at last found, side by side, fighting against Catholic and Protestant. They fought until even the genius of desolation sickened at the sight, and wept over the barren hills and depopulated plains of a once happy land. Religion and education were abandoned and forgotten, and "this proud nation was changed into a miserable rabble." Two-thirds of the entire nation perished in this war. "In Saxony alone, 900,000 men were destroyed within two years." "All the devils of political treachery, of religious fanaticism, of the rapacity of aspiring adventurers, and of the brutality of the soldiery, were let loose on the people. Driven from hearth and home, in eternal terror of the soldiers, and without instruction, what could be expected from the growing generation, but sordid cowardice and the shameless immorality which they had learned from the army? Even the last remains of political freedom perished in the war, since all classes were plundered, and their strength exhausted. The early civilization of Germany had retrograded into barbarism." Famine raged in all its horrid forms. Children were devoured by parents, and parents by children. Women engaged in mortal conflict with each other to secure the starving infant for a meal. Many tore up bodies from their graves, or sought the pits where horse-killers threw their carcasses, for the carrion. All the resources of the country were so completely exhausted, that even the wild beasts of the forests, deprived of their accustomed food, were found lying about exhausted and dying. Germany, even to this day, has not fully recovered from the effects of that dreadful war.

Such is a picture of the scenes into which mad fanaticism would drive us. Such the feast for which we are invited to abandon our present happy condition. What guarantee or hope have we that the civil war into which these traitors would drive us will be less bloody, or less devastating, than that of Germany? If the descendants of the puritan and the descendants of the cavalier in our country ever draw the sword on each other, and throw away the scabbard, the bloodiest page of history is yet to be recorded. Neither is formed for subjection, and one can be the conqueror only when the other is exterminated. I feel confident, my friends, that you at least will take no part in hastening this catastrophe.

## THE HOPE OF THE COUNTRY.

The only hope of the country now is in the success of the Democratic party. That party is of no mushroom growth. It was born with the constitution; came into power at the birth of the present century; and has conducted our people to unexampled prosperity. It has weathered many a storm, and now occupies a prouder position than in any previous portion of its history. It has sloughed off the political lepers that have been hanging upon it, and has been invigorated by the best blood of the old Whig party. The constitution has been assailed, and our party has determined to live or die in defence of that work of our fathers. Notwithstanding defection and desertion, it has held out no hand of welcome either to fanaticism or religious bigotry; but presents a bold and defiant front to both. It is now confessedly *the* party of the constitution and the Union, and, as such, nearly every one of the National Whigs in the present Congress have buried their prejudices and enlisted under its banners. Toombs and Stephens of Georgia, Benjamin of Louisiana, Jones and Watkins of Tennessee, Caruthers and Oliver of Missouri, Clingman of North Carolina, Pratt, Bowie, and Pearce of Maryland, Talbot of Kentucky, and hosts of other National Whigs throughout the country, are now bravely doing battle for the constitution under the Democratic flag. Some who cherish national sentiments, I know, will be disposed to ask why not support Mr. Fillmore? I cannot now enter into a discussion of the merits of the fragment of a party which has nominated and presented him to the country, or of his own political record. I am willing to concede that, for patriotism and statesmanship as between himself and Fremont, there is no comparison that could do Mr. Fillmore more than justice. It would be easy to prove that his election, if it were possible, although it might postpone, would not crush out the treason that threatens us. But this discussion is unnecessary. The election of Fillmore now is not only improbable, but it is an utter impossibility. Those who assert the contrary, either have paid no attention to the political movements of the day, or are trying wilfully to deceive you. *The contest is between the Black Republican and the Democratic parties*, and every national man who in this contest casts his vote for Fillmore, is, to say the least, trifling with the most important trust ever reposed in the hands of man.

## THE CANDIDATES OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

In this important crisis, our party has come up to the expectations of the country, in the selection of the best men and ablest statesmen as our candidates. We have left no excuse to any man to dodge the issues. James Buchanan, Pennsylvania's favorite son, if not the first, confessedly ranks among the first of the statesmen of the age. Many years ago, when there were intellectual giants in the United States Senate, he stood among them the peer of the ablest. With a capacious intellect, and a noble, generous heart; with forty years' experience in

the highest branches of the public service; with perfect familiarity with the practical workings of every department of the government; with a public and private character without stain or reproach, no better man for the times could possibly have been selected for the high office for which his name is presented. His companion on the ticket is one for whom the whole nation cherishes the highest hopes. His gallant bearing and lofty genius have, more than that of any living man, reminded the country of the early achievements of Kentucky's former idol. Our State convention has been equally careful and fortunate, in presenting as candidates our very best men. For governor, they have called home from the national councils one of whom every Illinoisan should feel proud—one whose patriotism and whose heart, not confined by sectional lines, are large enough to embrace his whole country. A gallant soldier, an able and experienced statesman, a truly national man, there is not a hamlet in the whole nation—except where sectional fanaticism has warped the judgment and corroded the heart—where the name of William A. Richardson is not mentioned with applause. Of his companions on the ticket, it is sufficient to say that they are worthy of the position they occupy by his side. That our candidates will be misrepresented, and slandered, and traduced, is to be expected. But this is no more than happened to Washington and Jefferson, and Madison and Jackson. They proved proof against the assaults of the malignant partisan, and so will our candidates. With such vital issues, and such standard-bearers, no man can mistake the path of duty.

#### WOLVES IN SHEEPS' CLOTHING.

It will be our duty, in this crisis, to exercise more than our accustomed energy and vigilance. We will have the enemy to combat in every possible form. Chameleon-like, he changes his color to suit every shade of opinion; and, with treason in his heart, professes the loftiest patriotism. There are among us men who still profess to adhere to the democratic party, and yet are doing everything in their power to defame its principles and organization, and to blacken the names of its noblest patriots—papers, with the names of our standard-bearers at their heads, whose columns are filled, day after day, with the vilest slanders and most unblushing falsehoods against our candidates and our party; vipers, whom you have warmed into life, and fed and fattened by your liberality, now, in the hour of danger, would turn upon you and sting you to death. With less boldness and manhood than their brothers, the tories of the Revolution, they do not go boldly over to the enemy, but, as spies and traitors, hang around our camp, and stab us in the hour of security. Judas-like, they embrace us, only that they may, with the more certainty, betray us into the hands of the enemy. Such conduct is too low for contempt. It is the very depth of degradation and infamy. There is no perfidy that such creatures would not stoop to, to accomplish their hellish purposes. They should be promptly met with the scorn and detestation of every honorable mind.

Fellow-citizens, in this communication I have spoken plainly. I would not willingly give offence to any upright citizen who may differ with me in regard to the issues before the country ; but this is no time for honeyed words, or doubtful phrases. I am under the highest obligations to you, and I regret that I have not more ability, by valuable services, to repay your generous confidence. I should be unworthy of that confidence, unworthy of the trust you have reposed in me, if I should hesitate to speak out frankly upon these grave issues, for fear of offending some of you.

I have now, in this respect, in an humble way discharged my duty. Will you, laying aside all former party prejudices and differences, go to the polls and discharge yours? There should be no divided vote in the ninth congressional district. I know you all love this free and happy country of ours. Let us all, then, go to the polls, and, with one unanimous voice, give a rebuke to this treason and fanaticism that may be heard throughout the whole country, and attract the attention of the world. Our government cannot live under this continued agitation. It is not enough that we defeat these traitors—we *must crush them out, and destroy their hopes forever*, if we would save our country.

In conclusion, fellow-citizens, I invoke you, by the memories of the past ; by the bright hopes of the future ; by the sacrifices that were made, and the blood that was spilt during our revolutionary struggle ; by the holy claims of oppressed nations, and of unborn generations ; by the love we all bear to our common country, to go to the polls, one and all, and discharge your whole duty. Let no consideration keep you away ; and let your rallying-cry be : “ **THE CONSTITUTION and THE UNION—they must, and shall be preserved.**”

Your obedient servant,

S. S. MARSHALL

WASHINGTON CITY, August 4, 1856.

























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